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ABSTRACT

Most research on teacher education has taken a functionist approach to socialization, emphasizing the importance of moulding individuals to the norms of the profession. Weaknesses have been noted in this approach, and recommendations have been made which call for a theoretical and empirical reorientation to the study of teacher socialization which considers the process of socialization and the relationship of variables within the particular context of socialization. This paper offers a critique of the functionist approach to the study of teacher socialization. An alternative theoretical and empirical orientation to teacher socialization is presented. A brief review of teacher socialization literature provides supportive documentation for a reorientation of theory and research with an emphasis on the role and contribution of the preservice teacher in the socialization process. The design of an ethnographic study of a teacher education program is outlined and preliminary findings on this ethnographic investigation are reported. Implications of the study are discussed along with possible considerations for future teacher education programs. (JD)

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THE ROLE OF TEACHER EDUCATION IN TEACHER SOCIALIZATION:

A CASE STUDY

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Understanding the process by which an individual "becomes" a teacher is necessary before substantial improvements can be made in teacher education (Popkewitz, 1979). To gain such understanding, teacher preparation must begin to be viewed as a process of socialization (e.g. Fuller and Bown, 1975; Popkewitz, 1979; Zeichner, 1980; Giroux, 1980) which includes not only developing the skills of teaching, but also learning the values, attitudes, norms, behavioral patterns, and interests of the profession (e.g. Lacey, 1977; Zeichner, 1980; Zeichner, 1984). Most research on teacher education has taken a functionist approach which emphasizes the importance of moulding individuals to the norms of the profession. Recent reviews of the teacher socialization literature note weaknesses with this approach (Zeichner, 1980; Wells, 1984). Recommendations call for a theoretical and empirical reorientation to the study of teacher socialization which considers the process of socialization and the relationship of variables within the particular context of socialization (e.g. Lacey, 1977; Zeichner, 1980; Tabachnick et al., 1980).

In this paper, a critique of the functionist approach to the study of teacher socialization will be outlined. In addition, an alternative theoretical and empirical orientation to teacher socialization will be offered. A brief review of the teacher socialization literature will provide supportive documentation for a reorientation of theory and research with an emphasis on the role and contribution of the preservice teacher in the socialization process. In response to the recommendations, this paper will outline the design of an ethnographic study of a teacher education program. Furthermore, preliminary findings of this ethnographic investigation will be reported. Finally, the implications of this study on the future directions of teacher socialization theory and research will be outlined, along with the possible considerations for teacher education programs.

Critique of Functionalism

Traditionally, the study of socialization has focused on the relationship between the individual and the social structure (e.g. Wrong, 1961; Brim, 1966; Berger and Luchmann, 1967; Wentworth, 1979). Most of the research in teacher socialization has followed the functionist orientation which declares the causal flow of socialization is from society to individual in the transformation of "raw material of biological man into a person suitable to perform the activities of society" (Brim, 1966, p. 4). The major focus of this orientation has been on attitudinal outcomes of socialization and the identification of influential institutional variables. Theoretically, the university and the public school determine the development of teaching perspective; the socialization process is unidirectional. This orientation assumes that individuals take on roles passively without resisting, rejecting, or re-creating them (Wrong, 1961, Brim, 1966; Berger and Luchmann, 1967; Wentworth, 1979). Consequently, most teacher socialization research has portrayed individuals as easily moulding to the norms of the institution (Popkewitz, 1979; Zeichner, 1980; Tabachnick, 1981).

Critics (e.g. Popkewitz, 1976; Zeichner, 1980; Zeichner, 1984; Goodman, 1985) reflecting a dialectical orientation to socialization theory have argued that this view fails in three respects. First, it inaccurately depicts the novice's contribution and influence on the socialization process. Specifically, functionism neglects the individual's personal perspectives and the interaction of these beliefs and values with the content and values of the teacher education program (e.g. Wentworth, 1979; Zeichner, 1980). Second, it has methodological problems. The quantitative research techniques have

resulted in a swallow narrowing of the questions asked and of the problems studied. For example, by relying on survey and questionnaire instruments administered before and after student teaching with results reported in the form of group central tendencies, variation among individuals are washed out. Such variations would likely reveal weaknesses in the paradigm (Zeichner, 1978). Moreover, survey and questionnaire make it unnecessary to attend to the context of teaching. Zeichner is correct: "To assume that one can gain an understanding of ... teacher development without observing or in some way documenting the experience is a fallacy" (Zeichner, 1978, p. 34). And, third, functionalism fails to provide information and understanding about the actual socializing experience (e.g. Fuller and Bown, 1975; Zeichner 1980; Feiman-Nemser, 1983). Zeichner (1980) concluded in his review that "The research to date has failed to provide us with an adequate understanding of what occurs ..." (p. 56). Feiman-Nemser (1983) supports this conclusion when she states that, "with few exceptions, the existing research gives us very little about the actual conduct of teacher preparation" (p. 151). Several scholars (e.g. Rist, 1977; Zeichner, 1978; Popkewitz et al., 1979) argue that the dominant use of an empirical-analytical paradigm is a primary reason for our shallow understanding of the relationships among socializing variables, the actual process of socialization within the context of teacher education, and the implications of teacher education practice.

Reconceptualizing Teacher Socialization Theory

In response to these problems, several scholars (e.g. Wrong, 1961; Popkewitz, 1976; Wentworth, 1979; Tabachnick, 1981; Zeichner, 1984) have called for a reorientation of socialization theory and research. Such a reformulation would recognize that individuals are not passive learners of

institutional values, but participants in the socialization process. Additionally, research would require methods for describing the complex interaction and relationship among participant and program variables. Recommendations include calls for a dialectical orientation to socialization theory and research that considers the dynamic relationship between novice and institutional setting (e.g. Lacey, 1977; Wentworth, 1979; Zeichner, 1980).

One promising approach to the study of teacher socialiization is Wentworth's (1979) interactive model of socialization. This model recognizes the relationship of participant and society which suggests that both the novice and the society's member lend content to the socialization process. In particular, the novice's own beliefs, developed through previous experiences, gives meaning to the interaction between individual and social structure (Wentworth, 1979). Wentworth (1979) argues:

> the novice's own frame of reference plays upon the meaning of interaction. The personal perspective, at a given time, limits how the novice is able (italized) to grasp "society". (p. 84)

Consistent with Wentworth's views, a number of researchers have argued for the importance of considering the role of the novice in the socialization process (e.g. Lortie, 1975; Lacey, 1977; Tabachnick et al., 1980; Zeichner and Grant, 1981; Zeichner, 1984; Goodman, 1985). Zeichner states "... there is overwhelming support ... that teacher education students do not simply react to the people and forces around them" (Zeichner, 1984, p. 17). Lortie (1975), in a seminal work on teacher socialization, concluded "socialization into teaching is largely self-socialization; one's personal dispositions are not only relevant, but, in fact stand at the core of becoming a teacher" (p. 79).

Tabachnick et al., (1983) and Lacey (1977) maintain that the values which the novice brings with her/him to the socializing activity and who they are as

people interact with environmental variables to influence the development of teacher belief and practice. After reviewing an intensive sample of teacher socialization studies, Zeichner (1984) concludes:

> the personality characteristics, dispositions, abilities that students bring to a field experience (including their unique biographical histories) are undoubtedly important factors in influencing the quality and strength of their socialization .... (p.17).

In order to investigate the dialectical nature of teacher socialization, several scholars (e.g. Lacey, 1977; Zeichner, 1978; Popkewitz et al., 1979; Tabachnick, 1981) have argued that inquiry needs to reflect a more social-anthropological approach to research. This alternative paradigm pays close attention to the description of culture, program experiences, and the interpretation given to those experiences (e.g. Patton, 1975; Rist, 1977; Borg and Gall, 1984). In support of a more qualitiative approach to teacher socialization inquiry, Zeichner (1978) and other teacher socialization researchers (e.g. Popkewitz et al., 1979; Lacey, 1977; Tabachnick et al., 1980) hold that in order for the subtleties of the socialization process to be understood, the field must first begin to design studies which capture the richness of life within a particular teacher education context and setting.

The Literature

Despite the dominance of the functionist philosophy, evidence is available which indicates the preservice teacher is active in the socialization process. Evidence, albeit somewhat limited, in support of Wentworth's (1979) view of the centrality of the participant role in socialization is available in three areas. First, several researchers (e.g. Lortie, 1975; Zeichner and Grant, 1981) note that preservice teachers enter the teacher education program with expectations and perceptions about the

ability of the program to influence their professional preparation. Second, there is conceptual and empirical evidence suggesting that there is a biographical factor which influences the development of teaching perspectives. Third, studies indicate that preservice teachers are active in the socialization process through resistance to institutional norms and variance in their teaching beliefs and values. Each of these three areas will discussed in turn.

Expectations and Perceptions

The literature provides supportive evidence of Wentworth's (1979) notion that the participant constructs the context of socialization from priorly developed personal perspectives. Several authors (e.g. Lortie, 1975; Books et al., 1983; Feiman-Nemser and Buchmann 1983; Lanier, 1984) suggest preservice teachers start their formal teacher preparation program with perspectives and expectations about their ability to teach and their chosen profession. Lanier (1984) reports that neophyte teachers maintain low expectations about professional knowledge aspects of their education. Many students seem to emphasize the nurturing perceptions of teachers over the intellectual (Lanier and Henderson, 1973). These novices perceive the occupation of teaching as intellectually anemic and professionally atrophic because the neophtye teacher believes "... opportunities to exercise informed judgement, engage in thoughtful discourse, and participate in reflective decision-making are practically non-existant ..." (Lanier, p. 53). According to Lanier (1984), the result of this attitude is a skeptical student who dismisses the value of professional knowledge and the possibility of becoming a serious student of education. The study of Books et al., (1983) supports Lanier and Henderson's (1973) conclusion. They surveyed preservice students prior to the entrance to

their teacher education program and found that ninety percent of the respondents believed that their professional studies had little to offer.

This skeptical student attitude may develop because preservice teachers enter their professional preparation program with particular beliefs about their ability to teach. Books et al., (1983) also indicated that 25% of the students entered their program with high or complete confidence in their ability to teach prior to specialized coursework. Two-thirds of students questioned felt at least moderately sure of their ability at the outset. This particular personal perspective of most preservice teachers was described as an "... extended form of parenting, about which there is little to learn other than through instincts and one's own experience" (Books et al., 1983, p. 10). Feiman-Nemser and Buchmann (1983) suggest learning to teach is complicated by the novices' previous socialization as a student in the classroom. The resultant perception is that teaching is easy and routine, anyone can teach. Lanier (1984) indicates "The views that prospective (teachers) ... hold about learning to teach affect their involvement in formal programs of teacher education ...." (p. 54). Clearly, teacher socialization research indicates that preservice teachers enter the formal preparation program with expectations about their profession and training program which influence their socialization.

Biographical Factor

The second area of the teacher socialization literature which supports Wentworth's (1979) view of the importance of personal perspectives is the conceptual and empirical material on biography. Several scholars (e.g. Lortie, 1975; Petty and Hogben, 1980; Zeichner and Grant, 1981;

Feiman-Nemser, 1983) have argued that the experiences resulting from a lifetime of involvement with teachers and teaching profoundly affects novices' socialization. The teacher socialization literature does present numerous statements about the influence of biography on teaching perspectives (e.g., Fuller and Bown, 1975; Zeichner, 1980; Feiman-Nemser, 1983). Unfortunately, the research is scanty on the validity of these explanations and almost non-existant on the interactive relationship between biography and teacher education (Zeichner and Grant, 1981).

Stephens (1969) proposes an evolutionary theory for explaining the biographical factor's impact on teacher socialization. He suggests that the desire to teach is within all human beings. In fact this ingrained need to correct each other's mistakes and communicate to one another important knowledge is one of the primary reasons for our species survival and success. Beginning early in one's life, teaching practice is observed and practiced within the family and classroom setting. In this way, children learn how to be teachers (Feiman-Nemser, 1983). According to Stephens (1969) neophyte teachers come to a teacher education program already secure in their pedagogical knowledge and with a strongly felt mission to help other human beings.

Wright and Tuska (1968) draw on Freudian psychoanalytic theory to explain the biographical factor in teacher development. For these authors, neophyte teachers are highly influenced, whether unconsciously or consciously, by the significant people in their early life. Wright and Tuska (1968) believe the decisions to teach reflects a desire to act out childhood fantasies.

Lortie's (1966, 1975) apprenticeship-of-observation theory of teacher socialization is also associated with a biographical factor. For Lortie, this

biographical factor is so strong that he questions the appropriateness of use of the term "teacher socialization" (Lortie, 1975). Lortie (1975) states:

> The connotations of the term socialization seem somewhat askew when applied to this kind of induction, since they imply greater receptivity to a pre-existing culture than seems to prevail ... Teachers are largely self-made, the internalization of common knowledge plays only a limited part in their movement to work responsibility. (p. 80)

The biographical factor develops early in the life of the novice teacher. With over 13,000 hours of participant observation (Lortie, 1966), students internalize the teacher roles modelled before them in the classroom. The student's "... entire school experience contributes to their work socialization" (1966, p. 56). These internalized role models depict what it means to be a teacher and remain latent until they are activated by the formal teacher preparation program (Lortie, 1975). On this view, the biographical factor of the internalized role models, not the teacher education program, informs the neophyte about teaching values and practices. Lortie (1975) writes: "What students learn about teaching is intuitive and imitative, rather than explicit and analytical, it is based on individual personalities rather than pedagogical principles" (p. 62). Instead of relying on informed judgments of professionals, the neophyte teacher uses perceptions developed as a layperson to direct teaching practice. The formal preparation program becomes a "low-impact enterprise" (Lortie, 1975, p. 5) in altering earlier formed images of teaching beliefs and practices.

Although biography suggests a powerful influence on the novice teacher's values and practice (Feiman-Nemser, 1983), little empricial work as been done its influence. The one biographical account receiving research attention is Lortie's (1975) apprenticeship-of-obervation model. In his Five Towns study, Lortie (1975) interviewed 94 elementary and secondary teachers representing

varying school settings and grade levels within a five-cell sample design. What he found was that teachers acknowledged the importance of their former teachers in developing their own view of what it means to be a teacher. Lortie (1975) writes,

> A large proportion of respondents volunteered information about how their current work is affected by the teaching they received ... 42 percent of the respondents went out of their way to connect their own teaching practice (with their outstanding teacher) ... the remembered teacher is a strong role model for the respondent. (p. 63)

Lortie's interview data also suggests that the apprenticeship-of-observation theory plays a role in neophyte's perception of their teacher education program. Education students do not enter the preparation program with a blank mind awaiting inscription (Lortie, 1975). Nor do they enter a program that challenges their prior socialization. Indeed, Lortie suggests that the strength of the internalized role models calls into question the receptivity of novices to instruction in pedagogy. He argues that either teacher education programs fail to adequately instruct the novice about the profession or internalized role models overshadow the concepts and skills communicated in the preparation program.

Zeichner and Grant (1981) investigated the relative contribution of biography on student teacher attitudes. The researchers interviewed forty preservice elementary teachers enrolled in a four semester teacher education program typical of those having moderate emphasis on practical work in the classroom. Zeichner and Grant (1981) administered the Pupil Control Ideology Form (Hoy and Rees, 1977) before and after the neophytes student teaching semester. In addition, the forty cooperating teachers who worked with these student teachers completed the PCI form once during the semester. Zeichner and Grant (1981) used the student teaching PCI form administration to assess

the neophytes' biographical factor; and then, completed PCI form to evaluate the contribution of cooperating teachers' pupil control philosophy on the student teacher. The results seem to support Lortie's (1975) theory. Zeichner and Grant write:

> it is clear from the present study ... that what students bring into the experience cannot be ignored in attempts to illuminate socialization mechanisms ... in the final analysis it is probably an interactive view of student teacher socialization ... that comes the closest to the truth of the matter. (Zeichner and Grant, 1981, p. 308)

The findings of Petty and Hogben (1980) also support Lortie's hypothesis that teachers have internalized role models of teaching and teachers, developed through years of observation in the classroom. Data, obtained from a semantic difference instrument, indicated no significant difference in school and teacher definition between teachers, interns, final year education students and non-education. The investigators stated, "... all groups seemed to share a conception of schooling which was practical, task-oriented, and divorced not only from theoretical considerations, but also from other factors extraneous to the classroom" (Petty and Hogben, 1980, p. 56). The extraneous factors, viewed by teaching and education respondents, as irrelevant to the learning needed to become a teacher were the theoretically oriented education courses, the education department, and departmental regulations. Petty and Hogben (1980) state that their findings do not prove the apprenticeship-of-observation theory, but add credibility to Lortie's (1966, 1973, 1975) assertion that prospective teachers enter their formal preparation program already socialized and believing they know about the teaching profession and are more interested in learning practical skills than theory.

Resistance to Institutional Norms

Resistance by preservice teachers to institutional norms also supports Wentworth's (1979) contention that the novice is active in her/his own socialization. In studying environmental influences on neophyte teachers' response to questionnaires, Shipman (1967b) found that 10-15% of respondents showed persistent resentment towards the institutional structures of the schools. These values were reflected by socially active students who were described as bent on reforming the system and resistant to the norms and traditions of the profession. In support of the participants' capability for active resistance to professional norms, Popkewitz (1976) writes, "The active role relationship between people and institutions becomes evident as people chose to become committed, detached or revolt from the constraints existing within teacher education" (p.16).

The teacher socialization literature and research also provides evidence supporting Wentworth's claim that the novice recognizes and negotiates the displayed cultural values. Shipman (1967a and 1967b) and Gibson (1972 and 1976) argue that the preservice teacher recognizes and must resolve the value conflicts displayed between the liberal and theoretical orientation of the university and the conservative practices found in the public school. In order to resolve the conflict, the preservice teachers used two levels of professional value, one for use in college situation and other for use in the classroom. Shipman (1967a) states:

> This use of impression management enabled them to insulate themselves from those influences that the college was most concerned to transmit ... but underlying these onstage attitudes were more regressive ones latent through the course and emerging once the need for impression management disappeared (p. 209 and 211).

An Ethnographic Study

Recent research (e.g. Fuller & Bown, 1975; Popkewitz et al., 1979; Zeichner, 1980; Wells, 1984) recommends that in order to better understand teacher socialization investigators need to pay attention to methods of data collection and analysis which describe socialization as a process, unfolding over time within the context of a particular setting (Tabachnick, 1981). For this reason a grounded theory research approach associated with ethnographic studies (Glaser & Strauss, 1975; and Bruyn, 1966) was formulated. A variety of data-gathering methods were used to generate, hypothesize, and describe the socialization process of neophytes during their preservice education.

Setting and sample selection

The setting was a secondary education program at a middle sized state university called Western State (all proper names are fictitious). Neither surburban nor inner city, the students that were assembled within Western State's teacher education program generally were older (average age is 27 years) than preservice teachers at similar higher education institutions (Feistritzer, 1984). In addition, students generally had higher standardized achievement test scores (overall ACT score of 22) when compared to students from similar universities (Lanier, 1984). Not unlike the gender ratio among professional secondary education teachers, the program contained an even number of males and females. Before being accepted to the formal teacher preparation program, students completed approximately three years of liberal education coursework, including two philosophical classes on education. Upon entrance to the formal preparation program, students are placed in a group of 20 to 25 students, who for three consecutive quarters, progressed through

their teacher preparation as a unit with the same education personnel functioning as both instructors and supervisors. This group was called SEG (Secondary Education Group). Students were placed in their field experience site and assigned to a cooperating teacher(s) at the beginning of the first quarter. During the first quarter, students spent about one-third of the program time in the field placement observing their cooperating teacher and students with whom they would be working with while in the student teaching experience. The remainder of this quarter was spent in the university classroom learning concepts of curriculum and instruction design. The second quarter varied from the first; students spent more time (about half of program time) at the field site and engaged in one-on-one tutoring, small group instruction, and taught short units to the entire class. The final quarter was spent entirely in a student teaching experience with the neophyte ideally assuming complete responsibility for activities of the classroom teacher. During the student teaching quarter, a weekly seminar was held for the purpose of linking theory and practice together.

Study participants or informants (e.g. Spradley, 1979; Agar, 1980) were selected on the basis of two variables of interest to the teaching profession (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973; Agar, 1980). Research has indicated the profession attracts only a few 'bright' college students to its preparation programs and then fails to keep most of these students longer than the student teaching exprience; while the lower academic students remain throughout the formal program and on into years of employment within the profession (e.g. Lanier, 1984; Feistritzer, 1984). Another variable noted in the profession is the even balance of female and male teachers in the secondary

schools (Feistrizer, 1983). These two variables formed the criteria for informant selection.

The informants chosen for this study were from the same SEG and were selected on the basis of gender and tested intellectual abililty. There are serious questions about the value of intelligence testing as means for defining intelligence. Therefore, subjects were chosen from same the SEG. They represented both genders and were selected according to high and lov scoring on ACT and SCAT tests plus non-education grade point averages. Four informants were recruited prior to the first SEG quarter, a male and female student representing both high and lov academic rating (HASS-high academic scoring student and LASS-lov academic scoring student). Three of the informants were (Robert-Spanish/ Biology, Bill-Geography/ Biology, and Colleen-English/ Reading) were placed in high school field sites. The fourth informant (Susan) was a secondary certificate student with a middle school (grades 5,6, and 7) emphasis; she was placed in the sixth grade of a traditional elementary school. The cooperating teachers and university personnel were also included as study participants.

Methods for data collection

For this study four of the established methods of field reseach were utilized (e.g. Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Miles & Huberman, 1984): semi-structured interviews (e.g. Spradley, 1979; Agar, 1980), observation (e.g. Schatzman & Strauss, 1973; Miles & Huberman, 1984), 'shadoving' of informants (e.g. Agar, 1980, Miles & Huberman, 1984), and a reviev of program related materials (e.g. Goodman, 1983; Tabachnick et al., 1980). Data were recorded in written fieldnotes and with the aid of an audio tape recording. Data collection began during the first quarter of the informants' program and

continued until one month after the end of the student teaching experience. The 'shadowing' of informants, coupled with interviews aimed at comprehending the influence of the experiences on teaching prespectives, provided a rich description of the interaction of factors. Each informant was either formally or informally (e.g. Spradley, 1979; Agar, 1980) interviewed at least weekly, with duration of each interview varying from ten minutes to one hour. Other study participants, cooperating teacher and university personnel were interviewed at least every three weeks. The content of the interviews accessed participant perception, values, and beliefs about teaching and the role of teachers. Interview questions were general and open ended to allow for the principles of grounded theory to prevail in developing hyppotheses. Approximately eighty percent of the interviews were conducted before and after observations of informant participation in university classroom experiences and field activities.

Review of program documents (e.g. course syablli, SEG and course handouts) and observation of the university classroom instruction/seminars and public school field experience provided the data necessary for producing a comprehensive description of the formal program. Observations of the university and field sites were made at least weekly. Each informant was observed or 'shadowed' or both about three hours per week during their student teaching experience. This field investigation occurred randomly within the informant's schedule to allow for a comprehensive picture of a preservice teacher's day.

Although the structure of the field research initially centered around general topics of investigation and preservice teacher activities and perceptions, with redefinement of data and hypotheses, the study began to

focus on the relationship between the novices' personal perspectives and their interpretation of content activities. For instance, observation, 'shadowing', and interview activites were organized around the general topics of teacher and teaching: what is the content and organization of the experience? what are student responses to the activites? what is the intent of university personnel and cooperating teacher? More specific questions about the meaning of particular experiences were generated after the experience and prior to related interviews. The fieldnotes were revieved for the purpose of guiding of follow-up observations, 'shadowing', and intervieving.

Analysis

The principles of 'constant comparative' method of analysis (Glaser and Strauss, 1975) were used to guide this study. Data gathered from interviewing, observing, 'shadowing', and revieving of documents were studied almost daily. Initially, a large number of general conceptual categories were formed and used to stimulate subsequent areas of inquiry. The findings from each succeeding round of data collection were then compared with the categories for further refinement of study's hypotheses. In this way, elements of the analytical categories were derived from the data, thereby affording the use of categorical evidence to illustrate concepts (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

Presentation of the findings from this ongoing analysis are reported in the narrative form (Glaser and Strauss, 1975; Miles and Huberman, 1884), relying on the use of examples from the data to illuminate conceptual categories. Inherent in this type of analysis and form of presentation is the assumption that the categories are flexible and amenable to modifiation through additional data collected from future studies.

The Findings

Program Description

The SEG program was organized around three major curriculum interests, each one situated within a quarter of university work (six to eight hours a week) and related to field experiences: Curriculum, Instruction, and Student Teaching. During the first quarter, the preservice teachers spent approximately 65 percent of SEG time in a university classroom learning basic curriculum concepts, such as Bloom's Taxomony, lesson and unit plan development, and organization of curriculum. The remaining 35 percent of the time was spent at the field placement site with the assigned cooperating teacher. During the first quarter field experience, the students observed the assigned teacher and their classroom. The novices were required to make informal observation notes and record them in a log. During the second quarter of the SEG program, instructional, classroom management, and school law issues dominanted the university class time. These included, peer teaching episodes; positive and negative stroke economy; and legal responsibilities of teachers and schools. About 50% of the time of the second quarter was spent in the cooperating teacher's classroom, observing and then teaching a unit for one hour every day for two weeks a unit to an entire secondary school class. During the first and second quarter field experiences, the primary role of the university personnel was to coordinate field placements. As a result, the university personnel never observed the cooperating teacher in the classroom nor the preservice teachers during their two week teaching episode. The third quarter of the SEG program was devoted to a 10-week full-time student teaching experience. Of the two informants who remained in the SEG program to student

teach, one informant's university supervisor visited her (Susan) four times in the field placement site. Two of these visits were for mid-term and final conference time. When the university supervisory time was totalled, it was determined that the supervisor spent approximately 3 hours out of the 250 hours of student teaching experience actually observing the novice. For the other student teacher informant (Bill), the university supervisor spent approximately 5 hours observing the novice. The two respective cooperating teachers spent differing amounts of time with their student teacher. Susan's cooperating teacher spent about 50 percent of the time sitting in the back of classroom doing various projects, the remaining time was consumed with activities that took him out of the classroom. Bill's cooperating teacher usually spent the first and last five minutes in the classroom and left the classroom. In terms of a student teaching seminar, a two-hour seminar was held every week during the third quarter.

The official goals and aims of teacher preparation, expressed through course and SEG program documents, focused on linking educational theory to the field placement site and the activities of novice teachers. Additionally, the program was to encourage preservice teachers to become students of teaching practice through reflective activities. However, there was very little relationship between what informants saw in the public school classroom and the content of the university classroom. For example, university classroom instruction on Bloom's Taxomonies or stroke economy were not related to what the novices' were doing in their field placement site. These subjects were never mentioned by cooperating teachers or supervisor while the informants were in the public classroom. The informal observation notes recorded in the

student's log only received brief written comments at the end of each quarter.

Reflection on teaching practice was absence from seminar, supervisory conference, and university classroom activity. For instance, teaching by the preservice teachers was rarely observed by the university supervisors and when they did observe the student teacher there were three questions which dominated the supervisory conference: how are things going? how does the student teacher compare with the evaluation rating form? what teaching tips would help the student teacher manage the classroom? Student teaching seminars were concerned with coordinating upcoming supervisory visits, dealing with the preservice teachers' immediate classroom concerns, resolving problems with the evaluation forms, and calming student teacher anxiety about the mid-term and final evaluation session. The theory and practice linkage, along with the university and field placement linkage, was never realized by SEG participants. These components represented independent worlds.

The role and importance of first-hand experience without prior skill development or linkage to theory dominated the SEG program from both university personnel/cooperating teacher and preservice teacher point of view. Having an experience in the schools determined the organizational structure for the SEG. The four informants spent approximately 300 hours (75% of the SEG time) having an experience in the public schools, 80 hours in university instruction student teaching seminars, and 3 to 5 hours under the supervision of university personnel. It was activity for activity sake.

Much of the content of the SEG courses and seminars centered around experience. Personal experiences of the instructor were used to explain, justify, and propose teaching concepts and principles. Typical of the

university site content was the unit on classroom management. The unit consisted of the two university instructors trading "war stories of life in the trenches" (observation of university classroom, 2nd quarter). The students would join the classroom management discussion with monologues of their own days as a student in the public schools. Occasionally, they would document their personal experiences with observations from SEG field site.

First-hand experience in the field without preparatory skill development or follow-up reflection and analysis was almost the exclusive instructional strategy for novices to learn the teaching profession. In contrast, a body of knowledge associated with the theory, research, and impact of curriculum design, classroom management, adolescent development, learning, and instruction became of secondary importance in the university classroom and was rarely discussed outside of university activities. The informants also treated the trial and error method of first-hand experience in the field as the most important way of learning to become a teacher. Additionally, the respective cooperating teachers supported this view of learning the profession by allowing the "student teacher to struggle and survive and learn what works ... that's the only way it can be learned" (Interview of cooperating teaching, 3rd quarter). The informants felt the university explicitly and implicitly supported this view of learning about the profession. Both informants stated that the absence of mentoring and coaching from the supervisors and cooperating teacher communicated certain values. Towards the end of the student teaching experience, one of the informants discussed the university's practices and values about experience and teacher preparation:

> let them (student teacher) go and get first-hand experience ...learn what is important about teaching and surviving in a classroom...then find out who survives and who is willing to fit into the system and look like the other teachers. (Interview of informant, 3rd quarter)

Relationship of Personal Perspectives and Preparation

It was clear that experience played a very important role for all participants. Equally important, and maybe more interesting, was the role played by the novice's previous experiences and personal perspectives. It was apparent students entered the program with definite teaching perspectives. They came: 1) with expectations about the role of a professional preparation program, 2) confident in their ability to perform as teachers, and 3) articulate in their notion of what it meant to be a teacher. The congruence of thought, expressed by each informant about these perspectives, formed a teacher role identity which acted as a filter for interpreting and assimilating the theory and practice encountered within the university and field sites. The novices' expectations the teacher preparation program and the teaching profession reflected the novice's teacher role identity.

The expectations informants had of the formal preparation program were well established from the beginning of the study. These program expectations corresponded to the novices' perceptions, beliefs, and values of what it meant to be a teacher. For instance, the two higher academic scoring students expected the university site to offer a stimulating environment of intellectual inquiry into pedagogical issues. They felt there should be discussion of teaching theory which would be based in research and accompanied by critical dialogue among SEG peers and university personnel. In contrast, the other two participants (both LASS) felt the program would provide them with practical activities and techniques that would making teaching fun and exciting. Additionally, the two HASS informants felt the need for experience in the field but felt it should be supplemented with a body of knowledge relevant to learning and teaching effectiveness. They were interested in a preparation

program that used research and theory to make sense of the field experience. In contrast, the two LASS informants felt the first-hand experience of performing as a teacher in the classroom would be the primary overriding ingredient in a preparation program. For these preservice teachers, all that was needed to actualize their articulated teacher role identity was the opportunity in the field placement to practice their teacher role identity.

Expectations of the teacher preparation program correlated with expectations of what it meant to be a professional. Colleen (HASS) and Robert (HASS) both felt the most essential component needed to be a professional teacher was an intellectual quality. They noted that all professional teachers needed to be well versed in the subject-matter, continually striving to increase their own knowledge base. For these two HASS neophtyes, the intellectual quality would be the driving force for all professional decisions and pursuits of the teacher. In contrast, an intellectual professional was not requisite for the two LASS informants. Susan felt a professional was someone who loved children and wanted to make teaching fun. Bill saw the professional teacher as a person who "positively effected the lives of youth by being a good role model and ... instilling (in the students) some ideas and habits about good personal and physical fitness" (Interview of Bill, 1st quarter).

The context formed by the interaction between personal perspectives and SEG program differed according to the teacher role identity of the informant and the content. As previously mentioned, the dominant values and practices of the preparation program centered around the role of experience, separation of theory and practice, and conformity within the system. However, the informants varied according to the meaning derived from their interpretation

of these professional values. The variation of meaning and response to program content was associated with each novice's interpretative filter formed from her/his own teacher role identity. It was this interactive relationship between program and participant that formed, for each preservice teacher, the context of socialization.

By the middle of the first quarter in the SEG program the interaction of personal perspectives and program content began to construct a context of teacher socialization. For instance, the two higher academic scoring students perceived the teaching professional as intellectually anemic. The context of teacher socialization suggested career association with low academically achieving and concerned individuals who were only interested in making the classroom a fun place to be for pupils. To assume the role of teacher meant conformity to these perceived cultural values which Colleen was unable to do. By the end of the first quarter of SEG, Colleen dropped out of the program and the teaching profession. Robert stated he was uncomfortable with the preparation program because he wasn't being academically prepared to handle the classroom. This perception, combined with motivational problems, resulted in Robert leaving the program after his second quarter in SEG. For the remaining two informants of the study, both LASS, the context established by their personal perspectives and the program provided an acceptable world in which to become a teacher. Although their world of teacher preparation and socialization was very stressful and extremely lonely during the student teaching experience, it was their teacher role identity which motivated them to endure the private ordeal (Lortie, 1975) and promised them a better world once they got their own classroom. It was the teacher role identity that anchored and informed the context of their socialization into the teaching

profession. And this teacher role identity was evident from the beginning of the study.

The informants entered the SEG with an established perception of the ideal and average teacher and this perspective translated into their own identity as a teacher. Although the informants each had their own unique teacher role identity, all of them communicated their identity in a similar manner. All of the informants started off talking about their ideal teacher and then, usually within minutes, switched to language which identified the ideal teacher as themselves. For instance, Susan (LASS) stated:

> The ideal teacher should be assertive about learning. I am kind of a bold person and I wouldn't be afraid that because my kids grades reflected lower scores, that I was a bad teacher. ... the ideal teacher thinks about the growth of the individual. You see I care about helping kids who come in below grade level in reading, hating it (reading), and then get up to even par and are not frustrated anymore, that's growth of the individual. (Interview of Susan, 1st quarter).

The ideal teacher was no longer an abstraction but a reality achievable once the informant became inducted into the classroom. When asked how the interviewee had come to form his/her notion of the ideal teacher, all described a particular teacher they had had during their elementary, high school, or college career. This influential teacher affected their attitude towards what it meant to be educated. Colleen, the high academic female who was planning to be an English teacher stated,

> My thoughts on the ideal teacher come straight from my experiences with Miss Smith, a high school English teacher. She was extremely acknowledgeable about literature and grammar. She stimulated me to want to know more ... I wanted to read and read and understand ... I remember learning from her, she was always an English teacher and we (the class) all liked it (Interview of Colleen, 1st quarter).

The novice's teacher role identity was very significant in influencing beliefs about what it meant to be a teacher; it was the personal perspective

which brought meaning to what they did as preservice teachers in their university and field site. For instance, both Susan and Bill participated in a university lecture on Bloom's Taxomonies, but the meaning derived from the lecture varied according to their teacher role identity. Susan, who was intent on making learning fun through manipulative type activities, saw the Bloom lecture as a way of generating activities to liven up a classroom. Bill, who focused much of his teacher identity with discovery type teaching and learning, felt the Bloom lecture confirmed the need for teachers to shape students' thinking in the higher cognitive levels.

It was during the student teaching experience that the informant's perspectives became most influential. Often their notion of what it meant to be a teacher conflicted with the desire environment established by the cooperating teacher. Bill's student teaching situation provides a good example. Bill's cooperating teacher was a firm believer in a structured classroom where the textbook's key concepts determine the lecture format and was the basis for organizing the worksheets which dominated class activities. This formal structure of teacher and classroom was contrary to Bill's belief in the value of guided learning and discovery teaching. In the beginning of the student teaching experience, Bill took his cooperating teacher's instructions to organize the curriculum by the key concepts presented in the textbook and attempted them through class discussions of student generated questions. The cooperating teacher advised Bill that teaching in such an unstructured manner would create classroom management problems and disrupt a routinized approach to the subject matter. Although Bill had never received any discovery/inquiry teaching development in the SEG program, he attempted to implement it as an instructional strategy. In doing so, Bill believed he

would learn through trial and error how to become a discovery type teacher but he also started to realize that other factors were inhibiting his ability to practice what he believed. Bill noted:

> I want to take students where they are today and follow their inquiry ... but there are factors in the curriculum, my student teaching experience, and the need to get a good evaluation which say 'stick to the course material'.... (Interview of Bill, 3rd quarter)

Although other factors began to affect the context of teacher socialization, Bill's teacher role identity continued to play a significant role in that context. He commented, "... so I learn to tolerate today, do what has to be done ... let my desires affect tomorrow ... and try to practice the ideal when I can" (Interview, 3rd quarter).

The teacher role identity also served as interpretative filter through which university course content was perceived as applicable to the field experiences. For instance, when Bill was asked how the SEG influenced this practice and belief of being a teacher, he replied that 80% of the time was spent on structured type teaching and the remaining content "scratched on discovery teaching and could be related to my teaching style" (Interview, 3rd quarter). The teaching method of group instruction was briefly touched upon in the university classroom setting. Bill felt that group discussion was important in carrying out discovery type teaching, he therefore consciously attempted to use it during his student teaching experience. Bill stated:

> I really listened to the ... (the university instructor's) words about group discussion .. and watched when he modeling it because that group discussion feeds right into inquiry learning and helping students process learning" (Interview of Bill, 3rd quarter).

When asked about the other university course content, he stated:

> I can't even remember what was said in the SEG or seminar ... I just don't have the notes (from the university site class and seminar) with me. It all seems too far away and unrelated to what I want to do and I guess need to .... (Interview, 3rd quarter)

The teacher role identity also played a role in determining success as a classroom teacher. When asked about the major source of information which they used to make curricular and instructional decisions, both informants stated it was self-evaluation; the criteria of which was developed according to their teacher role identity. Bill determined his success and value as a professional and teacher according to the amount of student inquiry and input into the particular lesson. Although he recognized the need to learn the facts and key concepts, following textbook, and to structure the learning environment, he continued to evaluate his teaching day according to the amount of discovery learning activities he was able to squeeze into the lesson. This sense of value and success as a teacher was also evident in Susan's experiences. Susan's teacher role identity was to be the type of teacher who involved students and made learning fun. Her personal success as a teacher was felt when she fulfilled her teacher role identity.

The novice's prior experiences as a student observing thousands of hours of teaching and teachers also helped to develop a socialized logic about how to function as a teacher. However, this socialized logic served a different purpose than that of the teacher role identity. Where the teacher role identity provided a basis for developing a teaching style, the socialized logic offered a way of handling situations for which alternatives were not made available by either the university coursework or the cooperating teacher. For instance, when it came time for Bill to prepare his first test for the pupils, he was unsure as to the type of test he should design. He finally decided upon a particular type of test because that was what his own high school teachers used to give and it just seemed logical to him. Susan

used this same type of logic when choosing instructional strategies during her student teaching experience. She noted:

> I had a 6th grade teacher (Susan student taught in a 6th grade class) who used flash cards in math quite effectively ... in fact I learned a lot of math with these flash cards ... it worked well when I was in 6th grade so I use it as a teacher now. (Interview, 3rd quarter)

The Implications

Although, much of the teacher socialization literature has used a functionist orientation to theory and research, this study provides further evidence that socialization is a dialectical process involving an interactive relationship between the novice, the program, and cultural values informing and displayed through the program. Traditionally, the preservice teacher has been viewed as a passive learner who acquires the norms and traditions of the profession vis-a-vis the representatives of the social structure, such as: cooperating teacher (Friebus, 1977), bureaucratic nature of the school (Hoy and Rees, 1977), and environment of the classroom (Doyle, 1977). However, the study in this paper suggests that the preservice teacher is not a passive learner who enters the preparation program tabula raza. Instead, the novice enters with personal perspectives formed from prior experiences gained through years of observation as a student. The preliminary findings are very supportive of many of Lortie's (1975) contentions about prior socialization and role of biography as an influential factor in teacher socialization. Additionally and significantly, this study describes the interaction of biography and the teacher education program. Contrary to Lortie's (1975) argument that once role models have been internalized then a teacher education program is impotent in influencing those values, this study provides evidence

that the teacher education is influential in shaping the novice's personal perspectives and is interactive in forming a context of teacher socialization. Construction of this context is highly influenced by several variables; primarily, the teacher role identity and socialized logic developed prior to entrance to the program. The teacher role identity is used as an interpretative filter for teacher education program activities and in conjunction with the explicit and implicit curriculum forms a content of interaction (Wentworth, 1979). It is this content of interaction which informs the novice about the teaching profession and influences their socialization.

Wentworth's (1979) interactive model of socialization argues that this content of interaction is informed by and displays the values of the cultural. The findings from this study suggest that there is a hidden curriculum (e.g. Vallance, 1973; Apple, 1979) of teacher education which communicates values about what it means to be a teacher. And, the implicit values inform the novice about the social meanings and practices of teachers and teaching. Moreover, the hidden curriculum plays a significant role in constructing the teacher socialization context.

The findings of this study also suggest the importance of studying teacher socialization as a context composed of participant, program, and the cultural values influencing that program. Wentworth's (1979) argues the context is the "fundamental quantum of the social order, and as such ... (offers) a special relevance for socialization theory; the context is the organizing unit of the culture presented to the novice" (pp. 84-85). The context of teacher socialization presents an important site for further research. And, clearly, using ethnographic methods to the study of the

teacher socialization context offers a viable approach to describing and examining the interactive relationships which compose the context of socialization.

Finally, the findings suggest that teacher educators pay closer attention to the personal perspectives which the preservice teacher brings to the preparation program. Assuming that the novice is ready and willing to be filled with values and practices may be a deterrent in influencing developing teaching perspectives. The teacher role identity and socialized logic brought to the teacher education program appears to act as interpretative filter for deciding what is assimilated from the content of the curriculum. It may be important for teachers educators to assess these teacher role identities and design appropriate university and field experiences which stimulate the novice to become reflective about their own socialized values and practices.

Clearly, in order to understand teacher socialization and the role of teacher education in that process, it is critical that more studies of teacher socialization begin to focus on the complex relationships which form the context of teacher socialization. Teacher socialization theory and research must orient itself towards a dialectical process of interaction between individual and society. Only in this way is it likely we will gain the knowledge necessary to design programs that might make a difference in the prepaartion of teachers.

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